



Center for Slavic and East European Studies

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PATRIARCH ATHERNACE
PATRIA

- Jane Dawson on Soviet closure movements and life after Chernobyl
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Jane Dawson has been studying at firsthand the growth of the many anti-nuclear power movements which emerged in response to the Chernobyl crisis. A case study tracing the ability of intellectual elites to publish dissident views on the Soviet nuclear power program during the period 1986-1989 will be included in her dissertation, "The Dynamics and Impact of Citizen Protest in Late Communist Societies."

Several graduate training fellowship awards, including a JCSS/SSRC fellowship and a research/travel grant from the SSRC/IREX Sociology Exchange Program, have enabled her to do field work in Russia and Ukraine. With the assistance of a MacArthur Interdisciplinary Group fellowship and an Institute for the Study of World Politics award she has been able to return to the Soviet Union, where she is presently continuing work on her dissertation.

Jane received her M.A. in chemistry from Harvard University in 1982. After teaching and continuing her study of Russian language and culture (she graduated from Bryn Mawr with a major in chemistry and a minor in Russian), she entered Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), receiving her M.A. in Soviet Studies in 1987. She has been in the doctoral program in UC Berkeley's Department of Political Science and the Berkeley-Stanford Program in Soviet Studies since Fall 1987.

AH: In his recent book The Legacy of Chernobyl [1990, W.W. Norton], Zhores Medvedev says that it was Chernobyl which provided the impetus, not only to glasnost, but to perestroika. Do you agree?

JD: I think that's overstating the case. Chernobyl was certainly one of many things which pushed the Soviet government in the direction of glasnost. I've studied Soviet press reports on nuclear power and nuclear safety after Chernobyl. The blanket of secrecy surround-

ing the issue seems to have been so air-tight that expressions of public concern over the safety of the rapidly expanding nuclear power sector in the Soviet Union were blocked from appearing in the central press for a year and a half.

AH: Was Chernobyl discussed in any connection in the official press during that time?

JD: In the high circulation press, the accident was presented as having been caused by human error exclusively--as having no wider safety implications for plants still in operation. Gorbachev also used Chernobyl as a platform from which to press his case for nuclear disarmament and the danger of accidental nuclear war.

AH: When did the press begin to publish pieces on safety concerns?

JD: You began to see them in early 1988. Moscow News published eight views on the question of nuclear power in the first three months of 1988; of these only three defended the current energy strategy. But in 1989 the situation changed dramatically. The Ministry of Atomic Power lost control of censorship on the issue. Since that time we have seen not only many serious articles in the press, but we have also begun to see scare pieces--sensational, undocumented accounts of deformities and mutations, and exaggerated estimates of contamination levels. However, true or not, I think media coverage of these claims played a major role in the mobilization of Soviet antinuclear groups.

AH: But aren't there serious grounds for

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Notes From the Chair

On behalf of the faculty, students and staff associated with the Center for Slavic and East European Studies, let me wish you all a very happy new year and all best wishes for a healthy and productive 1991.

We at the Center look upon 1991 as a year of new challenges in interpreting events in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. It is quite clear that the old order has broken down completely, but it is far from clear what will replace it. 1991 may be a year when we will learn a great deal about the ways in which history, ethnicity, culture, politics, economics, international forces and other factors combine to affect the fates of the countries and peoples of this region.

A hardline reaction has been gathering steam in the Soviet Union for several months. What will be its scope and limits? What role will Gorbachev play in defining its limits? How much political reform and ethnic autonomy will be rolled back? How much will simply be frozen in its tracks? And how much will continue to grow, with or without the permission of the central authorities? What will be the effect of a crackdown on the prospects for economic reform? Will Western protests and inducements importantly influence Soviet choices? We will soon get some answers to these questions.

Similar quandaries arise in Eastern Europe, though the commitment to political reform in Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia (and, of course, the former East Germany, which has been subject to a friendly, leveraged buy-out!) runs deeper and wider than it does in the Soviet Union. Nonetheless, the economic transition in all countries of the region is extremely painful, disruptive, and politically volatile.

And some countries have severe, internal ethnic conflicts that will be exacerbated by the combination of political democratization and economic austerity. Which groups and classes will be forced to bear the brunt of sacrifice? How will they react? Yugoslavia, for example, is on the verge of disintegration. During 1991 we shall discover whether the centrifugal forces are capable of being reined in.

Faculty and students of the Center will be discussing these questions, and interpreting events, in two important conferences planned for this spring. One, our annual Berkeley-Stanford Conference, will be held this year in Berkeley on March 15. The other, our annual Outreach Conference, will be held in Berkeley over the weekend of April 12-14. You are welcome to attend the proceedings. We must advise, however, that space is limited, and that attendance at the Outreach Conference requires formal, advance registration and a fee. Further information about the conferences, and about registration procedures, will be

mailed to you later this month and next.

In the meantime, I wish you once again a very happy new year. And I hope to see you at some of the many events we sponsor.

> --George W. Breslauer Chair of the Center

ASC News: Members Attend Lecture by Andranik Migranyan

Dr. Andranik Migranyan was dubbed "a Soviet Machiavelli?" by Edward W. Walker in the April 1990 issue of *Soviet Observer*, the newsletter of the Harriman Institute. At a wine and cheese lecture held November 1, he spoke to members of the Associates of the Slavic Center on "The Transition From Totalitarianism to Democracy in the Soviet Union."

Of all recent Soviet visitors to the Berkeley campus, perhaps none is better qualified to address the problems of transition than is Dr. Migranyan, a leading theoretician on the subject and a researcher at the Institute of International Economic and Political Studies (formerly the Institute of the Economies of the World Socialist System). In 1989 he co-authored a controversial article in *Literaturnaia* gazeta entitled "Do We Need an Iron Hand?" in which he argued the need for a strong, perhaps authoritarian, Soviet presidency--a position he maintained and expanded upon in his talk.

A lively question and answer period followed, during which he emphasized the importance of research centers such as our own Slavic Center as focal points of communication between Soviets and Americans, especially during these difficult times. His talk was the first wine and cheese evening organized specifically for our Associates. Expect more in 1991!



Dawson/from page 1

concern about the effects of contamination?

JD: There have been scientific reports of mutations within the 30 kilometer zone surrounding Chernobyl: pine needles that are much longer than usual, for instance. But documentation of othe rmutations outside the 30 K zone is hard to come by. It's important to note that lack of adequate medical information and long-term statistics is a key problem in understanding the severity of the contamination problem in the USSR. There's no firm evidence about what's going on. Except for severe radiation disease, it takes time for sickness to appear. Without the backup of a statistical study covering a long period, we're not going to know whether cancers in the region were caused by radiation. And the fact that populations are being relocated will make tracking even more difficult.

AH: We should note also that we're talking here about the general population, not about members of cleanup crews, some of whom have already died of radiation sickness.

JD: Absolutely. The liquidators were poorly equipped and protected, and, yes, many of them have died.

AH: Are the Soviet anti-nuclear groups you mentioned urban in their makeup? I understand most informal groups in the Soviet Union are pretty much confined to the larger cities.

JD: No, not at all. They sprang up in rural regions surrounding reactors, for the most part, in direct response to Chernobyl. I've heard comments to the effect that they must have been led by or at least influenced by Western elements--

AH: Like our "outside Communist agitators?"

JD: Exactly. But these are largely remote, inaccessible places. Westerners haven't even been to many of these places. Basically, they have been grassroots efforts, mounted at the local level, with short-term, limited goals: to shut down unsafe plants of any nature--not just reactors-in their immediate neighborhoods. They've been referred to as "closure movements," and what's interesting to look at is how effective they've been in a short time. Since the Chernobyl disaster in 1986, approximately 40 reactors either in operation, under construction, or in the late planning stages, have been closed, cancelled, or, in a few cases, suspended. That's pretty effective.

AH: Especially when you compare it with closure campaigns waged here or in Europe. Why do you think the central government is responding so quickly to these movements, in a time of economic upheaval?

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JD: That's certainly the question. As I said, the groups are small; they're located in remote places; they're fragmented, with little communication among them. In the West we wouldn't expect such respect for populist efforts. I can't answer the question now, but that's what my dissertation is looking at: What part does the collapse of central authority play in the rise and success of these closure movements?

AH: When did closure movements begin to have an effect?

JD: At about the time articles questioning the safety of nuclear power appeared, there were announcements in the press that nuclear power plant projects were being cancelled or abandoned. The first tangible effect an antinuclear group had that I know of was in January 1988, when construction of an atomic energy station in the Krasnodar territory was halted. Since then every single project has come under protest, and local soviets have voted not to open or to continue construction of numerous reactor projects.

AH: That takes us back to the question of central authority vs. local power. Do local soviets have the authority to make such decisions stick?

JD: Whether the center will go along with local decisions is anyone's guess. I do think Moscow is intimidated, and I suspect they'll bend, because protests are becoming ever more widespread and insistent in their demands.

AH: Do you see the leaders of local protest movements eventually taking power in a larger political context?

JD: For the most part, these anti-nuclear groups are so issue-specific that I tend to doubt it. In rural areas they arise, attempt to achieve their objectives, and disappear again. They are so isolated from each other and so single-minded in their objectives that I doubt that they form a potential basis for an all-Russian green movement, or for a strong green party. In urban areas it's a bit different; there are some small clubs of environmental activists in Leningrad and in other major Russian cities. It isn't a large number of people, though, and they don't have a political

platform or mass support.

The exception is Ukraine, which has been able to form an umbrella organization for their closure movements, which number between 200 and 300. They are fortunate in having a strong leader in Yuri Shcherbak, a doctor and writer from Kiev. He's one of the founders of the green group in Ukraine, called Zeleni Svit (Green World). In 1989 he ran for the Congress of People's Deputies and was elected, and then was elected to the Supreme Soviet. Now he is a member of the Ecology Committee of the Supreme Soviet and chairs the sub-committee on Nuclear Ecology. So he has quite a bit of power. As head of the umbrella organization, he was instrumental in the formation of a Ukrainian Green party, which he also heads.

AH: A busy man.

JD: Yes. Shcherbak comes across as sincere and committed to what he's doing. I think he is respected by those on both sides of the nuclear energy question. I met with him and with most of the secretariat of *Zeleni Svit* when I was there last spring.

AH: Does the Ukrainian group have links to green organizations in the West?

JD: They would love to. In fact they have created linkages with Greenpeace and several European groups. They're more than happy to talk with any group or individual passing through Ukraine; but it's hard for them to travel because there's no money. They have, however, managed to acquire a building in Kiev--I was there for the christening ceremonies. And they've started a newspaper, through which they hope to reach a wider audience.

AH: What about the Chernobyl plant itself? Isn't one of the towers_still in operation, and is the Ukrainian movement active in trying to shut it down?

JD: Actually there are still three operating towers at Chernobyl, believe it or not. The Ukrainian movement recently forged an agreement with the central authorities to close them, but when this will happen is anyone's guess. Meanwhile, operating crews are in and out of there every day. You're always hearing people talk about "the zones," and of course the area surrounding Chernobyl is a huge restricted zone. You need special papers to get in and out-it's really very strange to see these huge land masses emptied out and blocked off. I found it reminiscent of old sci-fi movies, but there's nothing entertaining about it for the people who live nearby.

AH: Looked at from a strictly economic perspective, closure movements can seem irrational, given the Soviet



Jane (second from left) and friends talk with a Byelorussian farmer.

situation. I read recently that the pipelines in the Tyumen oil fields, which account for some 65% of Soviet oil production, are so badly corroded that both oil workers and energy experts are worried about disruptions in energy in the near future. How do you think the Soviet people would respond in an energy crisis? Do you think their environmental concerns would take a back seat to their immediate energy needs?

JD: In Armenia and Lithuania, both of which have already suffered energy shortages, opposition to reactors has diminished substantially. But it's hard to predict how other groups will respond, especially given the accompanying worry about the design of Soviet-style reactors. Germany is in the process of shutting down every one of its Soviet-style reactors because of a concern that they are intrinsically defective. To make matters worse, the Soviets are burdened with many other environmentally unsound industrial plants, which are also being closed in great numbers. Even newer plants dump contaminants into the air, the water, the ground, at a horrific rate. It's much worse than people here imagine. As an example, there is a shortage of pharmaceuticals in the Soviet Union today. Why? Because so many pharmaceutical plants have been shut down as a result of closure movements. And 21 of 36 new plants planned for the 1986-90 period have not even been initiated. When you begin to look at all sectors of the economy, you realize these groups are having a tremendous effect.

And in an economy that's already shutting down, as you say, this is not the most rational direction to be taking. But at least as far as Soviet reactors are concerned, there are overriding safety reasons for doing just that.

AH: Given all this, do you think the Soviet Union will include nuclear power in its energy planning in the future?

JD: The Soviet nuclear power program is in complete disarray. I think it's extremely unlikely that any new projects will be initiated in the foreseeable future.

Jane returned to the U.S. in June 1990. In October she again traveled to the Soviet Union for ten days to deliver a paper, "The Impact of Popular Opposition to Nuclear Power in Ukraine and Russia," at an international conference of radioecologists held at Gomel, Belorussia. The meeting proved interesting in an unexpected way.

AH: Did your scientific credentials help you in getting an invitation to attend?

JD: They definitely helped. The head of the conference knew I was trained as a scientist as well as a political sociologist. Since the participants were radio-ecologists, the focus was naturally on contamination rather than on the social implications of the disaster, though my talk was well received. I was somewhat disappointed by the conference itself, though, because invitations were controlled by Moscow, and we were deprived of both Belorussian and Ukrainian viewpoints.

But having the opportunity to travel into contaminated zones and talk to the people still living there, that was the important aspect of the trip for me. We were supposed to go to Chernobyl but couldn't get clearance.

AH: Where was your group allowed to go?

JD: We were able to visit contaminated zones in Belorussia. We stayed at a hotel in Gomel, on the border of one of the worst zones, a fact only revealed to the public in 1989. I had brought several dosimeters with me, and being able to read that the radiation level at the hotel was 13 counts per minute, as opposed to the 17 per minute count I'd gotten in Berkeley, was reassuring. I wish that people in the Soviet Union living in or near these zones had access to accurate dosimeters, so they could check levels for themselves to allay their fears--or to rouse them, if necessary.

AH: But they don't, do they?

JD: No, and that's a shame.

AH: How did you get to the sites?

JD: From Gomel we took a bus into the country. It gave me the oddest feeling to be driving into a place I knew to be the center of Belorussia's contaminated zone. As we drove along, the clicks on the dosimeter went up slowly, but we were protected to some degree inside the bus. When the bus door opened the level jumped from 40 to 80. When we stepped outside, it went up to 112. And when we reached a nearby field, it read 389! Near the forest the reading was 600.

AH: What does a reading of 389 mean in comparison, say,

with the kinds of readings you would have gotten near Chernobyl during the first week after the accident?

JD: It's much, much lower than the levels observed just after the accident.

AH: Was it dangerous to be where you were? Could you get sick from short-term exposure?

JD: For a short visit such levels are not dangerous. In the long-run, however, no one is quite sure of the effect of living with this kind of low-level radiation. The scientists in our group were collecting soil samples to take back, and I must say they seemed cavalier about the whole thing. I worked as a radio-chemist for one summer, handling radiation every day, and I saw a lot of this same cavalier approach to low-level radiation in my lab. There's still a feeling among many scientists that low-level radiation can't harm you. But many new studies indicate that there may indeed be cause for worry, that it may be harmful after all.

AH: You visited a village that was in the process of being evacuated and spent some time with a farmer whose family had already been relocated. Would you talk about that?

JD: After getting off the bus we took soil samples and some readings from tree bark. Then we drove to a nearby village and talked to several people who had yet to be evacuated. By the way, I should mention that very few of the scientists I was with spoke Russian, so throughout the trip I did a lot of translating during the conference and in situations such as these. Anyway, there was an old man who was particularly interested in talking with us. He had three sons, who had already been placed in three different towns. He showed me their former houses, all within sight of his own. He told us he has over 20 grandchildren, whom he never sees now. His life, he said, has changed completely. And of course it has. There he is, farming all this land by himself. Whether the land is safe to farm is, of course, another question.



Byelorussian makes a point to his visitors.

People

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Organizations

First Direct S.F.-Soviet Far East Flight Planned

In conjunction with Baylis International Journeys of Berkeley, the Oakland-Nakhodka Sister City Association is planning a trip to the Soviet Far East, May 22-June 2, 1991. The first passenger flight between San Francisco and the Soviet Far East will allow members of the Association to visit Nakhodka as part of the tour's itinerary. This inaugural Aeroflot charter will land in Khabarovsk. From there, passengers will travel by rail to Nakhodka, Vladivostok, Irkutsk and Lake Baikal. In exchange, Baylis has agreed to bring 60 Soviet citizens to California. The Soviets have made several tour options available in addition to the planned trip to Nakhodka; for more information on this joint venture between a U.S. travel company and Intourist, call Baylis at: 415/849-9572; or 1-800/641-3266.

New From UC Press

The University of California Press list is consistently strong in Soviet and East European offerings. A sample of new titles follows. Their backlist is equally strong; each year the Press puts out a catalog of new books plus a selected backlist in Soviet and East European studies. Some backlist books may be purchased at discount prices. For a copy of the catalog, send your name and address with your request to 'catalogs,' University of California Press, 2120 Berkeley Way, Berkeley, CA 94720.

Steeltown, USSR: Soviet Society in the Gorbachev Era is the product of two visits made by Stephen Kotkin in the mid-1980s to Magnitogorsk, a city of about four hundred thousand people in the Ural region that was closed to Westerners for many years. Kotkin had the opportunity to talk with people in all walks of life: most make an appearance in the book. Portions of the book appeared in Steeltown USSR: Glasnost, Destalinization, and Perestroika in the Provinces, published by the Slavic Center in 1989. Stephen Kotkin is assistant professor of history at Princeton University.

In The Origins of Modernism in Russian Architecture, William Craft Brumfield examines the transformation of Russian architecture from the 1880s to the 1917 revolution and discusses how it reflected the profound changes in Russian society. Among the issues addressed are the search by architects and critics for a "unifying idea," one which would redefine architecture, and the debate concerning Russian modernism. William Craft Brumfield is associate professor of Slavic languages at Tulane University.

Two new volumes in the series Studies on the History of

Society and Culture (Victoria Bonnell and Lynn Hunt, editors), provide insights into the revolutionary era from unusual perspectives. In Bread and Authority in Russia, 1914-1921, Lars T. Lih focuses on the seven-year period during which Russian society was dismantled and reconstituted. He sheds light on the effects of the Bolshevik food-supply policies on the course of Soviet twentiethcentury history. Lars T. Lih teaches political science at Wellesley College. A second book in the series, Culture of the Future: The Proletkult Movement in Revolutionary Russia, by Lynn Mally, offers a detailed analysis of the Proletkult, an umbrella organization founded in Petrograd only days before the October 1917 revolution. The group's purpose was to design new forms of art, education and social relations that would express the spirit of the proletariat. She argues that the creation of new cultures proved to be as difficult as did the creation of a new political structure. Lynn Mally is associate professor of history at UC Irvine.

The Russian City Between Tradition and Modernity, 1850-1900, by Daniel R. Brower, provides a comprehensive history of urban development in European Russia during the last half of the century. Brower describes the adaptations made by the huge number of rural migrants to the cities, and the cultural barriers they faced. His book is a well-researched and fascinating look at the social discontent which fed revolutionary fervor. Daniel R. Brower is professor of history at UC Davis.

From the series Societies and Culture in East-Central Europe, (Irena Grudzinska-Gross and Jan T. Gross, editors), come two timely volumes on Poland and Lithuania. Konspira: Solidarity Underground, written during the early 1980s when Martial Law was still in force, explores the inner workings of Solidarity before the movement emerged as the country's political vanguard. An insider's look at a contemporary workers' movement. Konspira, written by three Polish Journalists--Maciej Lopinski, Marcin Moskit and Mariusz Wilk--appears in a new translation by Jane Cave which allows English speakers to read this story for the first time. In Lithuania Awakening, Alfred Erich Senn proposes that Lithuania may be the prototypical nation emerging from the collectivity of the Soviet Union. Senn documents the changes in Lithuania during 1988 that led to the present confrontational situation between Moscow and Lithuania. Alfred Erich Senn is professor of history at the University of Wisconsin.

Cultural Mythologies of Russian Modernism: From the Golden Age to the Silver Age, edited by Boris Gasparov, Robert Hughes and Irina Paperno, presents 22 essays (six in Russian), on the period encompassing turn-of-thecentury Russia to the Stalinist era. The book outlines the ways in which features of the Pushkin era were transformed into a cultural mythology of personal and literary style, behavior, and national identity. Contributors include UC Berkeley professors Boris Gasparov, Joan Grossman, Robert Hughes, Simon Karlinsky and Irina Paperno.

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Fellowships and Other Opportunities

The Rockefeller Foundation has announced updated guidelines for its programs, which include advanced training fellowships in several specialized areas (i.e. the global environment, population sciences, international security). Copies are available from the Sponsored Projects Office (SPO), 2111 Bancroft Way, Suite 530; 642-0120; 642-8122. Grant proposals may generally be submitted at any time, though certain programs do have deadlines.

The Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation (IGCC) awards dissertation fellowships, pre-disseration fellowships and international fellowships to graduate students. Brochures and application forms are available through UC Berkeley's designated representative, Harry Kreisler, at the Institute of International Studies, 215 Moses Hall; 642-1106; 642-2474. IGCC also conducts a separate grant program which provides fellowships solely to UC Berkeley graduate students. The deadline for applications in all categories is MARCH 1, 1991.

The 15th Annual Summer Workshop in Balkan Folk Music and Folk Dance will be held June 29-July 6 at the Mendocino Woodlands, in California, and July 20-28 at Buffalo Gap Camp, West Virginia. This is an intensive workshop in the traditional music and dance of Bulgaria, Greece, Yugoslavia, Romania and Albania, sponsored by the East European Folklife Center. For more information, contact: Bill Cope, program director, East European Folklife Center, 402 S. Henry Avenue, San Jose, CA 95117-1627.

Summer Language Programs

In their January 1991 newsletter, the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies (AAASS) has published a comprehensive listing of summer language programs--U.S., Soviet and East European--as well as a guide outlining what to look for in a summer language program, in their January 1991 newsletter. The Slavic Center has copies of these listings available for pickup at our office; students are encouraged to come in and take advantage of the really thoroughgoing job AAASS has done. Copies have also been sent to faculty for posting.

A Reminder

Berkeley's Summer Workshop offers first- and secondyear instruction in Russian (June 10-August 16), and a selfpaced course beginning June 24. The application deadline is JUNE 1, 1991. Contact the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, 5416 Dwinelle; 642-2979. Applications should be sent to the Office of Summer Sessions, 22 Wheeler Hall; 642-5611.

Library News

The Library now has the capability to produce New Acquisitions lists by subject. The Slavic studies field is represented by three such lists: 1) the Soviet Union, 2) Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, and Yugoslavia, and 3) Poland. In order to make it convenient for members of the campus community to view the new lists, copies will be deposited at the Center for Slavic and East European Studies (361 Stephens) and the Slavic Department Library (284 Dwinelle). A copy will also be available for consultation in my office (346 Doe Annex). I hope you will find the new products useful in keeping abreast of new campus library holdings.

Two new acquisition agreements have been established to facilitate the receipt of Czech and Slovene language materials. The library has entered into a contract with Interpress Limited of London to collect Czech publications in the humanities and social sciences. This arrangement includes not only materials published by the established presses but also books and serials issued by the ever increasing number of new independent publishers. The Narodna in Univerzitetna Knjinica in Ljubljana, an exchange partner of long standing, has agreed to send the library new Slovene language publications in the humanities and social sciences as soon as they come off the press. This will insure prompter delivery and more complete coverage of materials than would be possible using established bibliographic tools.

--Allan Urbanic Slavic Librarian

Newsletter

of the Center for Slavic and East European Studies, University of California at Berkeley.
361 Stephens Hall, University of California, Berkeley, CA 94720; phone 415/642-3230.

Editor: Anne Hawkins Phone 415/642-9107

The newsletter is published quarterly during the academic year. Please send suggestions, corrections or inquiries to the editor at the above address. Submit mailing address changes to the Center, Attn.: Newsletter Mailing List; or call the Center at 415/642-3230.

Dawson/from page 5

AH: Didn't he ask you to eat a carrot?

JD: Yes! He made us all eat one! We were under the impression he'd been told his food was safe, but he was understandably concerned. We tried to tell him our equipment couldn't pick up contamination in food, but he insisted we test it anyway. So we did. "Looks fine," we'd say. "All right," he'd reply, "If it's fine, you eat some." He also asked us to monitor his rugs, his walls, and so on. We couldn't tell him whether or not it was safe to be there. The readings were lower than those we had gotten two miles down the road, but his farm is in a terribly contaminated zone.

AH: Were any of the people you talked with or any of their family members sick?

JD: Not that anyone mentioned.



A Byelorussian farmhouse in a contaminated zone.

AH: You said the government is moving populations as new pockets of contamination are discovered. You've touched on the disruption to families. Do you think mass relocation is a good idea?

JD: In talking to people I got the feeling that the villagers weren't pushing for relocation so much as responding to outside pressure. "The government says I have to leave, so I'll leave." There's general agreement that children and pregnant women should go, but Western scientists I spoke with estimated the incidence of cancer from the disaster to be 1 in 1,000,000 for the general populace. Given that kind of projection--and I have no way of knowing how accurate it is--is it worth it to move all those people out? Many peasant families have lived in one community for generations. I gave you the example of the old man's sons, who are all scattered now. It's a real dilemma. I'd say there's a general feeling that adults, and particularly older adults, won't benefit from being evacuated.

And there are financial problems as well. Who's going to

pay for evacuating village after village? The republics? Belorussia is building new towns for the evacuees, and right now this is an extra cost they don't need.

In terms of perestroika, democratization, whatever yardstick you care to use, Belorussia lags behind many other republics. One question I was asked in Belorussia is, "Do you think informal groups are a good thing?" That's a question I never would hear in Moscow, Leningrad or even Kiev. But it was a serious question. In addition, I found the Belorussians lacking a strong national identity, which may cause them problems if they're forced to fall back on their own resources.

AH: How do you see things progressing in the Soviet Union, or should I say regressing?

JD: I'm trying to start out with as few preconceptions as possible. The Soviets could go through this very difficult transition and come out the other side in good shape, but they could as easily decline into a state of anarchy which could last a long time. It's something I'm trying to accept as a possibility, though it's very painful.

AH: Has the deepening crisis changed your approach to your research?

JD: When I started out I held certain views about how social groups impact on the political process of democratization. In the last year I've had to reject most of them. I'm approaching my dissertation differently; my case study of the anti-nuclear movement still works, but it works in a different way. I'm viewing it from the perspective of the distintegration of central authority and how alternative popular forces are able to achieve their objectives. As I said before, I believe that this achievement of popular objectives demonstrates the breakdown of authority, because without it you'd never see the results we've been seeing in the Soviet anti-nuclear movement.

AH: If the worse case happens and there is a collapse at the center, do you see some republics as being in better shape to weather the ordeal than others?

JD: I think it would be far worse in some places than in others. Republics such as the Baltic states, which can rally around a national identity and pull together a legitimate government, would be in the best shape. As I mentioned, Belorussia lacks that identity, and that worries me. But even for republics which have some national identity, it would be difficult. There would be threats to the authority of whoever tried to retain order because of the bleak economic picture.

AH: Don't you find this terribly sad?

JD: Absolutely. Sometimes I can view it intellectually-it's possible to understand the breakdown, why and how it's occurring, but then someone says or does something that makes me realize just how awful things are there. I was really struck by the increase in the number of unhappy faces on the streets of Moscow on my last trip. You see much more anger and frustration. It's understandable but scary.

AH: And you're going back!

JD: I leave in January. I'll be staying in Moscow, and from there I hope to visit some areas previously closed to foreigners. I'm crossing my fingers. The Energy Division has institutes in many interesting places; with luck I'll be working in Gorky, Rostov--a number of cities. I want to go into the field to collect material on how movements there began. I'll be asking lots of questions: Who is in these movements? How large are they? What's their history? What kind of tactics have they been using? I've used archival research to read informal publications, and I'll be doing more of that, I've collected written material: movement statements and platforms, newspapers--I have stacks and stacks of paper from these organizations. But my big push is to get out and talk to as many people as possible. Aside from my case study on the anti-nuclear power movements, the dissertation is intended to be an overview of radical environmental movements in the Soviet Union.

AH: And when you come back in July you'll begin to write?

JD: Yes. I'll close the case study with 1990. But the interpretation of my material will undoubtedly change. This is a big problem for all of us writing dissertations on the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe now. Even those working with older historical material. Your interpretation must take into account the direction of changes and outcomes, and, of course, it's a situation in flux.

AH: I notice you describe yourself as a political sociologist. That's a new term to me.

Part of the reason for my calling myself a political sociologist has to do with the Soviet academic hierarchy. Politology is not like our political science. Essentially, they took the Marxist-Leninist departments at several universities, and turned them into the departments of politology. If I were to walk around in the Soviet Union now saying "I'm a politolog," I'd be branded as an old-style Marxist thinker. Whereas sociologists are studying contemporary social change and state-society relations, and a good deal of innovative sociological research is accruing in Soviet sociological communities. So if you introduce yourself as a political sociologist, they immediately know what it is

you do. It fits into what they're doing, and you're much more effective.

AH: Do you see the gap closing between sociology and political science in American universities?

JD: Yes, I do. High politics can't give us all the answers; we have to look at society too, at what's happening to ordinary people now. There is exciting information to be gotten; right now our task is to gather as much of it as we can. Rather than worrying about having a perfect methodology, a perfect questionnaire, we have to grasp what we can and try to make sense out of it. Do your best to be as methodical as possible, but don't let history pass you by.

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Calendar of Events

ANNOUNCEMENTS: On February 14 the Center will sponsor the seventh annual Colin Miller Memorial Lecture, a series honoring the memory of the retired reporter and Hollywood producer with an abiding interest in Slavic and East European studies, who served as the first non-faculty member of the Center's executive committee. See the Calendar listing for more information.

Hold the date March 15 and check the Calendar listing for news about the Berkeley-Stanford Conference, to be held this year at Berkeley.

The Center's Annual Outreach Conference will be held April 12-14 at Alumni House. Its theme: "The Soviet Union and Eastern Europe: Update 1991." More next issue. And be sure to stop by or call the Center periodically for news of late-breaking Calendar events.

UC Berkeley's Services for International Students and scholars (SISS) is holding a series of workshops during Spring semester on gaining immigrant status in the U.S. The workshops will provide non-immigrant UC Berkeley students with comprehensive information on all aspects of the process of obtaining permanent resident status. Pre-enrollment is not necessary. Call: 415/642-2818 for further information. Various dates: Ida Sproul Room, International House. 3:00-5:00 p.m.

Tuesday, February 12

LECTURE: Moshe Lewin, professor in the Department of History, University of Pennsylvania, will speak on "Russia Between its Past and its Future." Cosponsored with the Department of History. Sather Lounge, 3205 Dwinelle. 4:00 p.m.

13 February - 15 February

THEATER: Arlekin, the Moscow-based radical theater group, will perform three plays at San Francisco State University. For information on tickets and performance times call the theater box office at: 415/338-2467. McKenna Theater, S.F. State campus.

Wednesday, February 13

BROWN BAG LUNCH: Vojmir Franicevic, docent, Department of Political Economy, University of Zagreb, will speak on "Politics of Economic Change in Yugoslavia: Dilemmas and Contradictions." 442 Stephens. Noon.

LECTURE: Gail Lapidus, professor in the Department of Political Science and chair of the Berkeley-Stanford Program in Soviet Studies; and Norman Naimark, professor in the Department of History and director of the Center for Russian and East European Studies at Stanford; will discuss "The New Nationalism: Soviet Republics and Eastern Europe." Sponsored by the World Affairs Council of Northern California. Members \$7, non-members \$12. For more information, call the Council at 982-2541. Hotel Nikko, 222 Mason Street, San Francisco. 5:15 p.m. reception, 5:45 p.m. program.

Thursday, February 14

COLIN MILLER MEMORIAL LECTURE: Alexander George, professor in the Department of Political Science, Stanford University, will speak on "Reflections on the Persian Gulf Crisis." Lipman Room, Barrows Hall. 4:00 p.m. A reception will follow Professor George's talk.

LECTURE: A panel discussion on "Political Perspectives for 1991." Speakers include Jacek Michalowski, special assistant to the deputy speaker of the Senate, Poland; Anna Nastulanka, deputy editor and chief for *the Observer*, Warsaw; Gabor Rejto, freelance journalist, Hungary; and Pascale Robert-Diard, political editor of *Le Monde*, Paris. Sponsored by the World Affairs Council. Members \$4, nonmembers \$7. World Affairs Center, 312 Sutter Street, San Francisco. 5:30-7:00 p.m. program.

Monday, February 18

GREAT DECISIONS: "Nationalism in the USSR and Eastern Europe Today." Sponsored by the Foreign Policy Association and the World Affairs Council of Northern California. The moderator will be Nils Muiznieks, doctoral candidate in the Department of Political Science. The Great Decisions program is the nation's largest public education forum on current foreign policy issues. This section will meet on consecutive Mondays from February 11 through April 1. The cost is \$3 per session or \$16 for the series. For more information call Arthur Pritchard at: 415/526-3703. Berkeley City Club, 2315 Durant Avenue, Berkeley. 10:00 a.m.-noon.

GREAT DECISIONS: "Nationalism's Revival: The Soviet Republics and Eastern Europe." World Forum of Silicon Valley joins the World Affairs Council and groups nationwide in offering Forum members the

chance to participate in the program. Please call the Forum for details at: 408/298-8342.

Wednesday, February 20

BROWN BAG LUNCH: Mihai Pop, professor in the Faculty of Letters at the University of Bucharest and visiting professor in the Department of Comparative Literature, will provide "A Formal Analysis of Romanian Political Slogans." 442 Stephens. Noon.

Wednesday and Thursday February 20-21

CONCERTS: Cal Performances presents Pirin, the Bulgarian National Folk Ensemble. The 75-member company recreates 1,300 years of rich history. Featured is the Stefanov Women's Chorus, as heard on the Nonesuch recording *Le Mystere des Voix Bulgares*. Tickets are \$18, \$15, and \$11 and are available at the Cal Performances Ticket Office (Zellerbach Hall); 415/642-1988. Zellerbach Hall, campus. 8:00 p.m.

Saturday, February 23

SEMINAR: "The Soviet Caucasus--Prospects for its Republics: Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia." A range of experts on the Caucasus and Soviet nationalities will examine historical developments and the current situation in these three key republics. The morning session will focus on regional dynamics including Soviet policy, relations with neighboring states, and U.S. policy toward the region. The afternoon session will focus on the prospects of each republic. A panel discussion will follow. Speakers include Paul Goble of the State Department, Victor Zaslavsky, visiting professor in the Department of Political Science, Gerard Libaridian of the Zoryan Institute, and Tadeusz Swietochowski of Monmouth College. Moderators will be Center chair George W. Breslauer and John Dunlop of the Hoover Institution; panel moderator will be Stepan Asdourian of UCLA. Cosponsored by the Commonwealth Club and the Armenian Professional Society of the Bay Area. Members \$5, guests \$8. For more information contact Suzy M. Antounian at: 415/921-5044. Commonwealth Club Office, 595 Market Street, San Francisco. Registration, 9:30-10:00 a.m.; Seminar, 10:00 a.m.- 4:30 p.m.

Sunday, February 24

CONCERT: Savina, the women's East European folk choir, and Slavyanka, the Bay Area men's Russian chorus, in a concert at the Robert Mondavi Wineries. The sixteen-member Savina choir performs a variety

of village songs and arrangements by native East European composers. Slavyanka is familiar to our audience through their many local performances. For ticket information call: 1-707/963-9617, ext. 384. Mondavi Winery, Napa Valley. 3:00 p.m.

CONCERT:

Pirin, the Bulgarian National Folk Ensemble in their second Bay Area engagement. Tickets are \$18.50-\$14 and are available through the Marin Center Box Office, 415/472-3500; and BASS/Ticketmaster. Angelico Hall, Dominican College, San Rafael. 2:00 p.m.

Tuesday, February 26

CONFERENCE: "Doing Business in the Soviet Union." Conference participants examine the opportunities and risks of doing business in today's Soviet Union. Sponsored by the MBA in International Business Program, St. Mary's College. The keynote speaker will be Center chair George W. Breslauer. Participants include Charles R. Collyer, senior vice president of Bechtel Corporation; Brian Zimbler and Lizbeth Hasse, attorneys active in negotiating U.S./ Soviet joint ventures; and Sharon Tennison, founder and president of the Center for US/USSR Initiatives. The registration fee is \$150, which includes dinner. For further information call Clare Sheridan at: 932-5788. Phone reservations may be made at: 1-800/332-4622. St. Mary's College, Moraga. 2:00 p.m.

Wednesday, February 27

LECTURE: Albert Fishlow, professor of economics and dean of the Institute of International and Area Studies, Berkeley, and Peter McPherson, executive vice president, Debt Restructuring Administration, and director, Latin America Credit Division, Bank of America, will discuss "Rethinking Foreign Aid: What Kind? How Much? For Whom?" Sponsored by the World Affairs Council. Members \$5, non-members \$8. For more information call: 415/982-2541. World Affairs Center, 312 Sutter Street, San Francisco. 5:00 p.m. reception, 5:45 p.m. program.

2 March - 27 March

The Month at Pacific Film Archive: PFA re-opens with an exceptional series of Czech films recently liberated from the censors' vaults. Films include All My Good Countrymen (Vsichni dobri rodaci, directed by Vojtech Jasny, 1968), a mordant comedy depicting the effects on a rural community of collectivization; Elective Affinities (Sprizneni volbou, directed by

Karel Vachek, 1968), a full-length documentary examining the stormy election period of March 1968; The Seventh Day, the Eighth Night (Den sedmy, osma noc, directed by Evald Schorm, 1969), in which a small town becomes gripped by fear when a traveling theater troupe introduces an element of the unknown into a closed community; and The Ear (Ucho, directed by Karel Kachyna, 1970), last year's entry at Cannes, a suspense film describing the effects on private lives of omnipresent power. Called "a bugged version of Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf''--Julian Petley, Sight and Sound. PFA has made arrangements for "The Banned and the Beautiful" to travel to a number of U.S. cities. Pacific Film Archive is located at 2625 Durant Avenue, one block from campus. Tickets are \$5 for one film, \$6 for double bills. For further program information call 642-1412. Advance tickets may be charged to a credit card at 642-5249.

6 March - 9 March

CONCERTS: The distinguished Polish composer and conductor Witold Lutoslawski conducts four performances of his works. Tickets are \$46-\$7, subject to availability. Phone the S.F. Symphony Box Office at 415/431-5400 for concert times and program information. Davies Symphony Hall, San Francisco. 8:30 p.m. and 2:00 p.m.

Wednesday, March 6

BROWN BAG LUNCH: Jeffrey W. Hahn, professor of political science at Villanova University and visiting professor in UC Berkeley's Department of Political Science, will speak on a topic TBA. This is a TENTATIVE date for Professor Hahn. See the March/April Update for more information.

Thursday, March 7

CONCERT: The Yugoslavian Branko Krsmanovich Chorus presents a concert of classical, baroque, romantic, contemporary and folk works on their first U.S. tour in thirty years. Tickets are \$17.50-\$14 and are available through the Marin Center Box Office, 415/472-3500 and BASS/Ticketmaster. Angelico Hall, Dominican College, San Rafael. 8:00 p.m.

Friday, March 8

CONCERT AND DANCE: Savina (see February 24) joins the Noyz Boyz for a rousing concert and dance party at the Slavonic Cultural Center. For tickets call: 526-2579. Slavonic Mutual and Benevolent Society, 60 Onandaga Avenue, San Francisco. 8:00 p.m.

Wednesday, March 13

BROWN BAG LUNCH: Jack Kollmann of Stanford's Center for Russian and East European Studies will give a slide lecture on "The Suburban Royal Palaces near Leningrad: Recent Impressions and an Update on Restoration Efforts". Dr. Kollmann recently returned from Leningrad, where he consulted with a group from the National Trust for Historic Preservation on the restoration of historic buildings. 442 Stephens, noon.

Friday, March 15

XVTH ANNUAL BERKELEY-STANFORD CON-FERENCE: To be held in Berkeley on the theme, "Beyond Leninism in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union." Panels of participants will discuss the progress of the transitions, and will invoke the lessons, if any, that can be drawn from regional events since 1989. A complete program, as well as information on locations and times, will appear in the March/April Update. The event includes morning, afternoon and evening sessions, with breaks for lunch and dinner. We hope you will reserve the date on your calendar. It promises to be an exciting day.

Friday and Saturday March 15-16

CONFERENCE: "The Enchantment of Prague: 1600-1750." A celebration of the baroque Prague of RudolfII--its artists, musicians poets, astronomers, alchemists and leaders. The event opens Friday evening with an exploration of the life of Albrecht Wallenstein by Theodore Rabb of Princeton, followed by a concert of baroque music by the 18th century Bohemian composer, Jan Zelenka, and a reception. 8:00 p.m.-11:00 p.m.

On Saturday Lee Hendrix of the J. Paul Getty Museum will speak on "The Power of Images in Rudolf's Prague." Talks on Prague's architectural heritage, the Golem, and occult science round out the day's proceedings. The moderator will be Jan Triska of Stanford. Sponsored by Humanities West. Separate tickets, at \$30 general, \$25 members, and \$15 students, are required for each day. There are discounts for groups of five or more. Tickets are available through Performing Arts Ticket Service, 1182 Market Street, Suite 216, San Francisco; or charge by phone at: 415/552-3656. Call: 415/387-8780 for more information. Herbst Theatre, War Memorial and Performing Arts Center, 410 Van Ness Avenue, San Francisco. Saturday 10:00 a.m.- 4:30 p.m.

Wednesday, March 20

BROWN BAG LUNCH: Ivan T. Berend, professor of economic history, Department of History, UCLA, and member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, will talk on "Eastern Europe After Communism." 442 Stephens. Noon.

March 25-March 29: Spring break! □

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